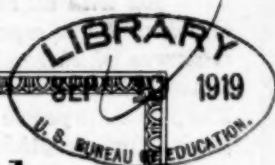


THE 167

The **AMERICAN
TEACHER**

The Organ of
the American
Federation
of Teachers

SEPTEMBER, 1919



DO NOT CLIP
THIS

A New Look Ahead

The Atlantic City
Convention

Constructive Participation

From the Locals

Democracy in Education

Education for Democracy

The Mounting Cost of Living

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I HAVE sought this opportunity to address you because it is clearly my duty to call your attention to the present cost of living and to urge upon you with all the persuasive force of which I am capable the legislative measures which would be most effective in controlling it and bringing it down. The prices the people of this country are paying for everything that it is necessary for them to use in order to live are not justified by a shortage in supply, either present or prospective, and are in many cases artificially and deliberately created by vicious practices which ought immediately to be checked by law. They constitute a burden upon us which is the more unbearable because we know that it is willfully imposed by those who have the power and that it can by vigorous public action be greatly lightened and made to square with the actual conditions of supply and demand. Some of the methods by which these prices are produced are already illegal, some of them criminal, and those who employ them will be energetically proceeded against; but others have not yet been brought under the law, and should be dealt with at once by legislation.

I need not recite the particulars of this critical matter; the prices demanded and paid at the sources of supply, at the factory, in the food markets, at the shops, in the restaurants and hotels, alike in the city and in the village. They are familiar to you. They are the talk of every domestic circle and of every group of casual acquaintances even. It is a matter of familiar knowledge, also, that a process has set in which is likely,

unless something is done, to push prices and rents and the whole cost of living higher and yet higher, in a vicious cycle to which there is no logical or natural end.

With the increase in the prices of the necessities of life come demands for increases in wages—demands which are justified if there be no other means of enabling men to

live. Upon the increase of wages there follows close an increase in the price of the products whose producers have been accorded the increase—not a proportionate increase, for the manufacturer does not content himself with that—but an increase considerably greater than the added wage cost and for which the added wage cost is oftentimes hardly more than an excuse.

—From President Wilson's address before Congress, August 9, 1919.

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The American Teacher

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SEPTEMBER, 1919

One Dollar a Year

HARD WORK AND HAPPINESS

THE September Message of our Secretary-Treasurer, Mr F G Stecker, of Chicago, should fill our members with pardonable pride. We are now a great organization with hard work and heavy responsibilities ahead. But the work is of our own making, and we do not care how hard it is. The professional educational administrators should take note of this, and try the experiment of yielding immediately to us a share in the management of the schools.

We feel that our members will appreciate the meaning of the fact that Mr Stecker is now giving all his time to his office. His work must be paid for on a self-respecting basis by persons who are making a strong fight for self-respect for all the members of their profession.

FROM BACK FENCE GOSSIP TO CONSTRUCTIVE PARTICIPATION

THE article of Miss Gardner's in this issue strikes the correct note in the composition which teachers have been preparing with labored effort. We have been saying that we wanted to share in the management of the schools. In a number of cities we have been handed a crumb of comfort, and we have sung a joyful ditty of praise to the generous leader on the board who suggested that teachers' councils be organized and act as advisory bodies to the educational authorities. The bodies have been organized, and the work has busied us greatly. The advice has been given, but with seeming caution and fearsomeness. The authorities have been interested, and in some cases amused.

Perhaps we may have expected these labored efforts, but now we come to the main theme in the composition. We want a real share in the management. That share can

be made real by being legalized. And when it is legalized, there will be responsibility on us which will inevitably lead us away from our "back fence" habits of gossiping, and possibly our tendency to scream at things like certain other visitors to the no man's land of our village habitations, to a habit of participating constructively in the hard work of educational management.

BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

THE attention of our readers is called to the able address in this issue of Vice-President Lampson before the Committee on Education of the House and Senate on the Smith-Towner Bill Revised. Not the least significant fact concerning the address is the point that our representatives are now accustomed to appearing before committees in Congress to present the claims of the teaching body of the nation. And what is more significant is the fact that these committees are coming to regard the representatives of the teachers as authorities in the matters of which they speak. Our authority is more impressive because by the process of selection and of proved worth we are also speaking for our affiliated bodies, the labor unions.

A JOINT TRIAL BOARD IN BEING

WHEN the New York City Board of Education was asked by the Central Labor bodies of New York whether it would approve of an amendment to the education laws to provide for a joint trial board to hear the cases of teachers, the answer was a curt "No." (See the report from Local No 5 in this issue.) The board at Jasonville was just as curt, and so are they all—the question itself smacks of impertinence to the

average mind, unused to the new ways of obtaining justice for the workers.

But they now have a joint trial board at Jasonville, Indiana, the first for teachers of which we are informed in this country. High credit is due President Chas B Stillman for his able leadership in the conferences that developed the outcome. The central labor body also seems to have been effective. There is evidence also that the school trustees were amenable to reason. The report given by Local No 14 in this issue does not emphasize the activities of the teachers themselves in their fight for protection. It is, however, obvious that the officers of the local were strongly supported by the members, for there can be but one outcome for one hundred per cent organizations. Teachers sometimes put aside foolish fears, quit hesitating or resigning, and go in for the means to power and self-respect.

Grievances arising between teachers in the Jasonville schools and the Board of School Trustees are to be taken up for settlement by a joint committee consisting of the three trustees and three teachers selected by Local No. 14. This is the joint trial board. All persons concerned in the efficient management of the schools, and in the maintenance of self-respect on the part of those who do the work of teaching, will do well to note this one important mile-stone that we have reached.

A NEW LOOK AHEAD

EVERY thinking person who has a vacation takes a little time to go over his mental and moral penates for the purpose of taking stock. Intellectually as well as economically this pays, and no less for teachers than for others. The long vacation has just closed. With its end those teachers who look forward to a life of ever-increasing satisfaction because of certain professional accomplishments are likely to feel that they have gone ahead by a veritable bound. Thus the more alert prepare themselves for greater service.

But the more or less successful and self-satisfied teacher in the good school of another day will find that something has been left out of his accounting if he fails to realize

that in this year more than in any earlier one his inventory must include some items bearing on world relations. The war has brought education into the position of a gigantic social force. And because of this the teacher will appear more and more clearly to be ineffective and provincial; a weakling dealing with tremendous events and their meanings, if he does not endeavor to add to his accomplishments the ability to see and think in terms that transcend the limits of the old-time pedagogue's domain.

There is a great deal of evidence to show that in certain quarters teachers have begun to adjust their thinking to the new times. In the initial stages of adjustment conflicts have developed between the new as represented in the evolution of man's political and social destiny and the old as represented in the settled economic control of the rich and powerful. The rich and powerful are fully represented not only on boards of education, but also in the acquiescence of those pliant citizens who hold fiefs in the form of jobs, favors, and protection under the modern feudal system conducted by the lords of industry and commerce. During the period of the war issues arising between these two forces were confused with issues connected with the prosecution of the war. But now the lines will be clearly drawn. And the teachers will find themselves on one side or the other. Either they will have to stand with the Chicago packers and their economic allies, the petty gougers, jobbers, middlemen, and their horde of economic dependents, or they will have to join with those who are struggling to find a way to exist.

It may appear to be simple as well as safe to fight the food profiteers, but it may not be if they are represented on your board of education. Just now while the Government is selling its food at less than the retail price it is a patriotic and profitable thing to do to give some time to helping Uncle Sam dispose of his bacon and beans. Teachers in schools will have some of it to do in September; in fact they will be expected to do it. But thinking teachers will find their minds running off into more fundamental ramifications. After the Government stock is exhausted, what next? Will it be safe and patriotic to join in the battle between the President and

the food exploiters? We should not be too sure that the Congress which will grant all the President has requested in his bold stand against the profiteers will continue to be sympathetic. Too many congressmen trace their political genesis to powerful economic combinations to yield finally to what they may already be calling a "flurry of presidential sentimentality."

Then there is the Plumb plan before Congress. Is this too complicated for us teachers to try to comprehend, or shall we continue to get our interpretations of political and economic questions from our favorite newspapers, or to ask the local lawyer for his opinion? Not unless we are content to remain provincial and ineffective, and to accept what the public is willing to hand us for service inspired out of a restricted vision. Or if authority still impresses us, what of the stand of four million organized workers? Many of their representatives say they want the workers to share in the management and control of industry, and to have that share a large one, apparently what the Plumb plan leads to.

Last May President Wilson clearly indicated that he believed the democratization of industry is inevitable, and many of those whose interests are with the great and powerful in industry and commerce frankly admit that a change from the present system cannot be avoided. Privately, representatives of important conservative newspapers agree that much of our social structure will be altered materially in the near future. In the face of these facts, the Cummins plan for the immediate restoration of the railroads to private control under "regional" supervision, with the prohibition on strikes, seems like the manifestation of an effort to "tie down" the railroads before what is called inevitable picks them up and carries them off. All this is not merely interesting and curious to us as "Cook's tourists" in life, but is full of meaning to us as social and intellectual leaders.

If teachers permit themselves to think to the root of our human ills, their minds must run over paths indicated by the foregoing considerations. They will be fortunate if they avoid the pitfalls of political prejudice into which others have fallen. But if we have

minds at all our minds must work. And if we follow out the manifest destiny of the school as a social institution, we must take sides with the men and women of labor, for their need is the one fundamental to sheer existence.

We cannot avoid the taking of sides. Teachers are being warned on every hand not to take sides in the political and economic struggle. Who is it that wants us to remain passive? A searching of the genesis of ideas will lead us straight to the lair of those who want the economic relations existing in American life to remain as they are. There is no way out of it. We *must* take sides. Four million of our boys have given their aid to the destruction of a political autocracy, over three hundred thousand are maimed for life, and over one hundred thousand are dead. Great industrial combinations made fortunes out of the nation's need, and they seek to continue their control and to increase their gains while of our hundred million human beings there is an increasing percentage that must put forth heroic struggles to maintain existence. Of that increasing percentage teachers are a part. Should anyone be permitted to tell us that we shall not take sides with our own people?

The new school year opens with evident dangers ahead, but our clearest thoughts concerning these dangers carry also a large measure of responsibility not only for own professional welfare, but as well for our leadership in the ranks of American men and women. We should be proud that the new day finds us measurably prepared by a habit of thinking for the heavy task that lies before us.

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Educational Recommendations of the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor

CHAS B STILLMAN

President, The American Federation of Teachers

AT its Thirty-ninth Annual Convention, held in Atlantic City, June 9-23, 1919, the American Federation of Labor maintained its record for progressive educational suggestions, and again proved the most sincere and influential friend and supporter of the public schools. Nearly every session of this Reconstruction Convention was marked by decisions on questions vitally affecting national welfare, but this report must be confined to actions on matters educational, and will consist chiefly, not of opinions or comments, but of excerpts from the official record of the Convention itself.

District of Columbia Salaries

The development of opposition in Congress to the schedule submitted by the teachers of the District of Columbia, caused teachers' salaries to be the first matter to be brought before the Convention by the Committee on Education. Because of the emergency in Washington, the unanimous consent of the Convention was secured for the introduction of the following resolution on the sixth day:

Resolution No. 212—By Delegate Chas B Stillman, of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The teachers always wretchedly underpaid, have been unable to meet the double cost of living with the meagre salary increases which they have secured; and

WHEREAS, The work of the teachers determines the quality of our future citizenship, and should receive financial compensation more nearly commensurate with its service to the community; and

WHEREAS, The teachers of the District of Columbia have placed a very reasonable schedule before Congress, which is about to fix their salaries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this thirty-ninth convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the very moderate request of the teachers of the District of Columbia for a minimum salary of \$1000 for grade teachers, and of \$1200 for high school teachers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every effort to secure the passage by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of legislation

establishing those minimum salaries for the teachers of the District of Columbia.

The Committee on Education at a special meeting called immediately, concurred in the resolution, and within an hour, it had been adopted unanimously by the Convention. The action of the Convention and the letters from President Gompers and Secretary Morrison undoubtedly played a very considerable part in bringing about the favorable outcome for the Washington teachers.

The Smith-Towner Bill Revised

On the next day the following action was taken on the Smith-Towner Bill Revised, the passage of which is so essential to the educational development of the country:

Resolution No 123—By Delegate Chas B Stillman, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, In accordance with the instructions of the last convention, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, working with the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association, has co-operated in the preparation and introduction of the Educational Bill (H R 7), which creates a Federal Department of Education, and appropriates one hundred million dollars to be apportioned among the states to aid in the payment of more adequate teachers' salaries, in the equalization of educational opportunities, in the removal of illiteracy, in Americanization of immigrants, in physical education, and in the preparation of competent teachers; and

WHEREAS, The present period of reconstruction is revealing even more clearly than the preceding period of the war the need for a national educational policy to secure co-ordination among the states, and to promote national welfare, efficiency, and unity; and

WHEREAS, The threatened collapse of our schools, which influenced the action of the last convention, is still more imminent now, through the forcing out of our best teachers by the thousands by sheer economic pressure, and through the refusal of young men and women of ability and independent spirit to prepare themselves for a calling which does not offer a self-respecting living; and

WHEREAS, The ultimate national need is for educated manhood and womanhood, a need which will become more urgent in the period we are entering; and

WHEREAS, The recent past has forced upon us a realization of the necessity of more effective physical education, of the removal of illiteracy, and of the Americanization of immigrants; and

WHEREAS, In the fields of vocational and agricultural education, the value of the stimulus to the states of Federal appropriations available to a state on its meeting specified standards, and on the appropriation by that state of equal amounts, has been proved by experience; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in conformity with the recommendation of the preceding convention, endorse the Educational Bill (H R 7), and instruct the President and Executive Council to use the full influence of the American Federation of Labor in its support.

"The Committee considered the sections of the Executive Council's Report on 'Education' and 'Education of Adult Illiterates,' and Resolution 123 together, since they deal with the same subject matter. After careful study of the Educational Bill (H R 7), your committee heartily commends the Executive Council and the American Federation of Teachers for the part they have taken in the preparation and introduction of that bill. The people of the country are realizing now as never before that a democracy must depend primarily upon an educated citizenship for its very life, and that the nation as a whole is under even deeper obligation to the schools than is any section of the nation. In recognition of that fact, the Educational Bill provides for a Federal Department with a Secretary in the President's cabinet, and assigns to the Federal Government a small proportion of the total cost of our public school system. But recognizing with equal force the value of local initiative and experimentation within the various states, which is an essential part of the genius of our American institutions, the Bill safeguards local autonomy, providing that all the educational facilities encouraged by its provisions shall be organized, supervised, and administered exclusively by the legally constituted state and local educational authorities within the several states.

"Your committee also calls attention of the Convention to the effective co-ordination under one broad agency in a comprehensive measure of all Federal educational activities, including Americanization, removal of illiteracy, and physical education, as contrasted with piecemeal, separate treatment of those closely connected subjects.

"The committee concurs in Resolution 123, recommends its adoption by the Convention, and further recommends that this Convention ask all affiliated state and local central bodies to urge vigorous support of the Education Bill (H R 7) upon their congressmen.

"The report of the committee was adopted."

Library Workers

The Committee on Education was glad to have referred to it the following resolution, dealing with a group of workers who have received even less recognition from the public than the teachers:

Resolution No 34—By Library Employees' Union No 15,590, New York City:

WHEREAS, We believe that public libraries are public utilities and should be owned, controlled and administered directly by the State or City, nancing such libraries; and

WHEREAS, We believe the present low and inadequate salaries and intolerable working conditions in our public libraries are due to the fact that most of the libraries are under the control of private corporations who are not responsible to the community at large, although they are spending the public's money; and

WHEREAS, Since the right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively is recognized and affirmed by the United States Government, this right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers of the library; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Atlantic City on June 9, 1919, that in the interests of the people and in order to secure good conditions for the workers, we declare ourselves in favor of Civil Service for librarians; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a member of a Library Union, to be elected by the Union, be placed upon all Committees having in charge Library activities, in which Union Labor is asked to co-operate, such as the War Service Committee of the American Library Association; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a member of Union Labor be represented on all Boards of Trustees for Libraries; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we earnestly urge all locals to give all assistance possible towards the organization of these workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A F of L be instructed to take action to remedy the situation.

The Committee concurs in the resolution as amended and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

American Scientists

The recent affiliation of twelve hundred of the leading scientists of the country with the National Federation of Federal Employees is responsible for the following resolution:

Resolution No 94—By Delegate Luther C Steward, National Federation of Federal Employees; Charles B Stillman, American Federation of Teachers; Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employees.

WHEREAS, Scientific research and the technical application of results of research form a fundamental basis upon which the development of our industries, manufacturing, agriculture, mining, and others must rest; and

WHEREAS, The productivity of industry is greatly increased by the technical application of the results of scientific research in physics, chemistry, biology, and geology, in engineering and agriculture, and in the related sciences; and the health and well-being not only of the workers but of the whole population as well, are dependent upon advances in medicine and sani-

tation; so that the value of scientific advancement to the welfare of the nation is many times greater than the cost of the necessary research; and

WHEREAS, The increased productivity of industry resulting from scientific research is a most potent factor in the ever-increasing struggle of the workers to raise their standards of living, and the importance of this factor must steadily increase since there is a limit beyond which the average standard of living of the whole population cannot progress by the usual methods of readjustment, which limit can only be raised by research and the utilization of the results of research in industry; and

WHEREAS, There are numerous important and pressing problems of administration and regulation now faced by Federal, state and local governments, the wise solution of which depends upon scientific and technical research; and

WHEREAS, The war has brought home to all the nations engaged in it the overwhelming importance of science and technology to national welfare, whether in war or in peace, and not only is private initiative attempting to organize far-reaching research in these fields on a national scale, but in several countries Governmental participation and support of such undertakings are already active; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that a broad program of scientific and technical research is of major importance to the national welfare and should be fostered in every way by the Federal Government, and that the activities of the government itself in such research should be adequately and generously supported in order that the work may be greatly strengthened and extended; and the Secretary of the Federation is instructed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the President pro tempore of the Senate, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The Committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Labor's Educational Platform

Organized labor's educational program is found at the conclusion of the report of the Committee on Education. Much of it had been adopted by previous conventions, and was here reendorsed, but attention is called particularly to sections 19-23, which were drafted in the light of sinister developments in several cities during the last year.

"Your committee believes that in addition to the material presented in connection with sections of the Executive Council's report and resolutions, it is under obligations to recommend certain additional principles which should be incorporated in organized labor's educational policy.

"1. With regard to Vocational Education, the model laws recommended by the Executive Council to the St. Paul Convention, and the principles adopted by that convention, including

the endorsement of the unit, as opposed to the dual system of administration, should be re-endorsed. In this connection commendation should be given to the various states which have enacted continuation school laws, and to the labor movement of those states for the part they played in securing such legislation.

"2. Hearty support should be given the increasing demand for well considered methods of vocational guidance in our schools.

"3. Careful consideration should be given to the simplification of courses of study, especially in the lower grades; but in connection with any movement toward simplification, the committee believes that

"4. The upper years of the elementary school should be reorganized to afford diversified training, so that boys and girls who can not go on to higher schools will receive training specifically designed for their needs, and not be compelled as at present to prepare for a role they will never play. These diversified courses should be flexible so that a pupil will be able to transfer from one to another. We must not compel the child to pay the penalty throughout life for a mistaken decision made in childhood. Organized labor should demand and help to secure an expansion and diversification of both elementary and secondary education so that a democratic equality of opportunity for preparation for the callings of their choice may be offered the children of the people.

"5. In all courses of study, and particularly in industrial and vocational courses, the privileges and obligations of intelligent citizenship must be taught vigorously and effectively; and at least in all vocational and industrial courses an unbiased industrial history must be taught, which shall include accurate account of the organization of the workers and the results thereof, and shall also include a summary of all legislation, both state and federal, affecting the industries taught.

"6. The basic language of instruction in all schools, both public and private, should be the English language, foreign languages to be taught only as subjects in the curriculum.

"7. The provision of adequate facilities for the teaching of English to non-English speaking people.

"8. The establishment of complete systems of modern physical education under specially trained instructors.

"9. The provision of ample playground facilities as a part of the public school system.

"10. Continuous medical and dental inspection throughout the schools.

"11. Better enforcement of compulsory educational laws, and the universal establishment of a minimum school-leaving age of 16 years.

"12. The extension of a free text-book system to the District of Columbia and such states and communities as have not adopted it.

"13. Wider use of the school plant securing increased returns to the community through additional civic, social and educational services to both adults and children.

"14. Public forms should be established in every school where there is sufficient demand, under the direction of the superintendent of schools, working in co-operation with advisory

committees, representing the various elements in the community.

"15. The educational interests of the children and the future welfare of the state demand a drastic reduction in the prevailing size of classes.

"16. In view of the demonstration by war conditions of the industrial and educational value of the metric system, the committee recommends that the Executive Council cause an investigation to be made of the advantages of the introduction of the metric system into this country with a view to determine what further steps, such as Congressional action, may be advisable.

"17. A thoroughgoing revision upward of the salary schedule of teachers in public schools, normal schools and universities, to meet the increased cost of living and the growing appreciation of the value to the community and the nation of the teachers' services.

"18. The liberal ungrudging reorganization and increase of school revenues as the only means of maintaining and developing the efficiency of our public schools.

"19. In order to secure a more democratic administration of our schools, to develop a spirit of co-operation, and to gain for the community the benefit of the experience and initiative of the teaching body, boards of education and superintendents of schools should confer with committees representing organizations of the teachers' choice in all cases of controversy between school authorities and teachers, and should consider and make official public record of suggestions dealing with the conduct of the schools submitted by the teachers through such committees.

"20. Teachers should have tenure of position during efficiency. There should be no dismissals without full public hearings before a commission on which the teachers are fairly represented.

"21. In a democracy the primary requirement is a citizenship educated to straightforward, logical thinking, based on facts established by careful sifted evidence. The schools cannot develop this essential mental fibre if the pupils are carefully shielded from knowledge of the topics men and women think about. Secondary only to a citizen's ability to do his own thinking, is his ability to make his influence felt in his group and community by effectively presenting his views to his fellows, and meeting opposition in a spirit of tolerance. This power of effective self-expression and the habits of tolerance, and of intellectual fairness toward opponents, can not be formed without the discussion of topics that give opportunity for their exercise. Therefore, in order to enable the schools to perform one of their chief functions, preparation for active citizenship, the pupils should be encouraged to discuss under intelligent supervision current events and the problems of citizenship.

"21. It is unquestionable that teachers have no right to impose their personal views on pupils. But it is necessary in some quarters to emphasize that neither do school authorities have that right. And it is further necessary to ask this convention to endorse with all its power the principle that men and women in becoming

teachers do not thereby surrender their rights as American citizens, and that inquisitions by school authorities into the personal, religious, political and economic views of teachers is intolerable in a free country, strikes at the very basis of our public school system, and can result only in the development of mental and moral servility, and the stultification of teachers and pupils alike.

"23. The right of teachers to affiliate with organized labor is beyond question. And in that connection, the right of teachers to hold meetings in school buildings outside of school hours, for the purpose of discussing organization, or of conducting the business of their organization, should not be questioned. Boards of Education have no proprietary right in the schools, but are simply trustees for the public, of which the teachers are a part.

"24. The Committee recommends that this convention urge all state and local central bodies to make a Committee on Education one of their standing committees, where it has not yet been done, and to make vigorous effort to secure adequate representation of organized labor on all boards of education.

"25. The achievements of the American Federation of Teachers, in co-operation with the labor movement, during the past year, lead the committee to repeat with greater emphasis the declaration of the St. Paul convention that the most effective guarantee of democracy and of progress in our schools is the affiliation of the teachers of the country with the great democratic force of organized labor, and to again urge the recommendation that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and all state and local central bodies give every support to the American Federation of Teachers in the work of organizing the teachers.

"Delegate Strickland objected to the fourth section of the recommendation, as it implied that there are those among the laboring people whose children will not be able to get the same education as all other children.

"Delegate Lennon, Bloomington, and Delegate Friedman, Ladies' Garment Workers, commended the Committee on their splendid report.

"The motion to adopt the recommendations of the Committee was carried.

"Secretary Stillman: This completes the report of the Committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed.

"JOSEPH VALENTINE, Chairman,
 "CHARLES C SHAY,
 "THOMAS J CURTIS,
 "MARGARET C DALEY,
 "JOHN P WHITE,
 "J C ORR,
 "JOHN J SULLIVAN,
 "M G SCOTT,
 "CHARLES A SUMNER,
 "LUTHER C STEWARD,
 "J W NELSON,
 "JOHN D O'BRIEN,
 "IRA N ORNBURN,
 "HENRY HILFERS,
 "CHARLES B STILLMAN,

Secretary.

The September Message

F G STECKER

Secretary-Treasurer, The American Federation of Teachers

AS a result of the remarkable growth in the membership and activities of the American Federation of Teachers the office of Secretary-Treasurer was placed on a full-time basis beginning with the month of August. I realize keenly the responsibilities which come with the effort to make this organization run smoothly and effectively and function in the many expected ways. This office is the usual medium between the national organization and the locals. The financial secretaries of the locals become important assistants in the work of bringing together the groups of teachers in a feeling of close relationship. To them goes a personal message each month, a financial report of the previous month, a report of standings of locals, a list of new locals, and other important news items. From them comes the report on membership, the per capita tax, a report on conditions and developments from time to time, and reports on special topics when called for. The latter frequently become important matters and the cooperation of every financial secretary is imperative. Otherwise the information desired is delayed and incomplete. From the locals must come the information which enables the American Federation of Teachers to serve its real purpose.

It has been found from experience that some local officers are delinquent in reporting situations which require immediate and careful attention. It is the intention of the officers of the national to give all the assistance the limited resources of the organization will enable them to give in every case of need on the part of any local or member. The officers are here for that purpose. Please inform them of all campaigns, negotiations and movements started by locals, in regard to salary, conditions, or desired objectives. Events of unusual nature should be reported at once without waiting for serious results. All blanks submitted should be filled out and returned. "No Report" written in is much better than silence.

A roster of locals and officers has been published and sent to local officers. A standard system of records is being formulated. A standard membership card will be issued. Every precaution will be taken to see that each member receives the official organ, THE AMERICAN TEACHER. Every local is invited and urged to contribute to the magazine. There is nothing that teachers are more interested in than the experiences and accomplishments of other teachers. There is nothing they have heard less of. There has never been a means of communication or interchange of stories concerning the course of events, happy or unhappy. The columns are now open for just that purpose. These columns will reach ten thousand teachers and more each issue. The editor will welcome your stories.

It cannot be too often repeated that every local should affiliate itself with the Central Labor Body of the community and with the State Federation of Labor. If there were told in THE AMERICAN TEACHER stories of the many instances reported to the national officers it would be a fine revelation of the true spirit of cooperation manifested, the deep interest in the public schools, the unusual sympathy for discouraged teachers, and of helping hands on the ways to better things. Some of these stories you will hear. You have read, and will read, very excellent educational programs adopted by these bodies from time to time. Most of these have been written by leaders in the labor bodies themselves without a teacher to suggest ideas. However, teachers are invited to take part in the formulation of these platforms. Delegates to labor bodies can perform a great service for their locals and for education. This may be the educational reconstruction of which we have heard so much. Step by step new ground will be reached by those most interested in the cause. And none are more interested than the teachers and Labor. It is worth while to know that this organization through its president acting as secretary of

the Committee on Education, has been able to write its ideas into the platform of the American Federation of Labor. Many teachers have already performed the same service in other labor bodies.

I wish it were within my power to extend a message of encouragement and helpfulness to the officers and members at the beginning of another year. Some find themselves well established, some face trying conditions left over from the previous year, some find themselves but partially organized, some are discouraged because of the timidity or selfishness of the fellow-workers. It must be remembered that teachers are human and, like the rest of the human race, are inclined to stand aloof in a crowd while the few with

more courage or initiative or leadership seek out the new path. Such is the cost of every advance. Its truth finds evidence in the files of this office. With this in mind I wish to invite every worker and officer to report difficulties and defeats as well as successful achievements. The year just opening offers remarkable opportunities for constructive work. The growing importance of the American Federation of Teachers will give it an increasing influence. It should come to thousands of teachers in the near future as a welcome friend.

Success and achievement for all whose efforts make up the sum total of our activities!

The Smith-Towner Bill Revised

L V LAMPSON

First Vice-President, The American Federation of Teachers

ADDRESS AT THE JOINT HEARING OF THE COMMITTEES ON EDUCATION OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE ON THE SMITH-TOWNER BILL REVISED. (JULY 11, 1919.)

IN behalf of the American Federation of Teachers, I desire to discuss briefly the history of the bill now before the committee and to present what I believe to be the sentiments not only of the organized but of the unorganized teachers of the country in respect to the proposed measure. By reason of the fact that in the last few months I have travelled from Bangor to Galveston, from Milwaukee to Atlanta, and in much of the intervening territory for the purpose of addressing teachers, I am in a position to interpret their views.

Mr. Chairman, the teachers of the country were very much opposed to certain fundamental features of the first and second drafts, known as the Smith Bill and Towner Bill respectively. They are very much in favor of the final draft known as the Smith-Towner Bill Revised, which they believe will do much to improve the schools and to serve the cause of real democracy.

The facts relating to the inception and history of this bill should appear in the report of these hearings for the information of

the country. They are in substance as follows. At its convention held in St. Paul in June, 1918, upon resolution introduced by delegate Stillman, the American Federation of Labor went on record in favor of the creation of a Department of Education and the annual appropriation of \$100,000,000 by the Federal Government in aid of teachers' salaries. At its convention held in Pittsburg in July, 1918, the American Federation of Teachers went on record favoring similar resolutions. In conformity with these resolutions, a bill was in process of being drafted. In the meantime, the National Education Association secured the introduction into the Senate of what is known as the Smith Bill which had as its object the creation of a Department of Education and the annual appropriation of \$100,000,000 for Federal cooperation with the States in the encouragement and support of education. Then followed the introduction of the Smith Bill Amended in the House under the name of the Towner Bill. As a result of various conferences between the legislative sponsors of these two

bills and the official representatives of the three organizations mentioned, there was introduced into the House and Senate at the request of the American Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Teachers, and the National Education Association what is known as the Smith-Towner Bill Revised. This bill, therefore, is not the result of snap judgment. The great educational program for which it provides has come about as a progressive development. It is required by the needs of the country, it is demanded by the sentiments of the people, and it is in accord with American institutions.

The Smith-Towner Bill Revised will do much to encourage the States in the promotion and support of education. Unlike the Smith Bill, it contains specific provisions for Federal aid in the payment of teachers' salaries (see sections 10 and 13). The way to improve the schools of America at this critical juncture in our history is to raise teachers' salaries.

The average annual salary of the teachers of the country is said to be about \$630, or measured in the terms of the former purchasing power of the dollar, at about \$300. The low salaries, the high cost of living, the strain and stress of the times have wrought havoc with the teaching personnel of the public schools within the states. The teachers must be relieved from economic oppression for the sake of the children whom they teach and the people whom they serve.

Of what avail is the appropriation of \$7,500,000 for the removal of illiteracy without well-paid and efficient teachers to do the work? Of what avail is the appropriation of \$7,500,000 for Americanization without well-paid and efficient teachers? Of what avail is the appropriation of \$20,000,000 for physical education without well-paid and efficient teachers? Of what avail is the appropriation of \$50,000,000 for equalizing educational opportunities without well-paid and efficient teachers? There is a close connection between the pay and the efficiency of teachers. The bill before your committee is fundamentally sound. It not only provides for the preparation of teachers but also for Federal aid in the partial payment of teachers' salaries. The country cannot afford to penalize its teachers. The latter must be paid in money

and public respect these returns to which the value of their services entitles them.

Even many of the so-called soulless corporations realize that the efficiency of the working personnel is fully as important as the efficiency of the plant. The product of the schools is human character. It follows that the happiness, the welfare, and the efficiency of the teaching personnel is more important than the efficiency of the school plant. The teachers necessarily are the real educators of the youth. You can have schools without school buildings and other paraphernalia but you cannot have schools without school teachers. In these times of modern science, no country, whether in peace or in war, is stronger than its schools. Viewed from this angle, the teachers may be regarded as the first and last line of a nation's defense. The Smith-Towner Bill Revised gives recognition to this fact.

Mr. Chairman, there were certain fundamental features in the first and second draft of this bill which were not in accord with American democracy. By vesting in the Secretary of Education the power to approve or reject plans as a condition laid upon the states for obtaining Federal funds, the Smith Bill tended to set up an educational autocracy at Washington that could have resulted in the Prussianization of the American school system. It would have been possible for special interests or political parties to have dominated the thought of the youth of the country by the selection of text-books, the determination of curricula, and the control of the teachers. It has been said that the Germany of today is the product of the German schoolmasters of yesterday and that the America of tomorrow, perhaps the world of tomorrow, will be the product of the American school teachers of today. If there is any truth in this statement, the war for making the world safe for democracy can be won or lost in the public schools of the United States.

The Towner Bill by its amendments removed the possibility of Federal domination of the schools. By requiring the States to turn over to their chief educational authority the control of the schools as far as they were affected by this act, as a condition for obtaining Federal aid, it did, however, tend to encourage the setting up, not of one over-

towering, but of forty-eight lesser educational autocracies. Too great a centralized control within a given state, while not as dangerous as a single one within the United States, is, nevertheless, a serious menace to the liberties of the people.

Mr. Chairman, there can be no democracy in government or in industry unless there is democracy in education. The cave man knew what bodily slavery is. He fought it, and so has man ever since the beginning of time, until it has been generally abolished throughout the world. Democracy in government has been a conception of men for thousands of years, yet it has taken the greatest war in history to drive it home to the general consciousness of mankind. Democracy in industry—and by that I mean that those who are employed shall have some voice in the determination of the conditions of their work—has been a conception of the last generation. Democracy in education—and by that I mean that the teachers who are the real educators of the youth shall have some voice in the determination of text-books, educational policies, and the conditions of their work, has been a conception of the past few years. The thought which they impart to the youth must not be imposed upon them. The teachers can hardly train the youth in the ways of free men if they themselves are not

free. The last stand of autocracy, or rather plutocracy, will be in the dominion of the minds of men. The world cannot be made safe for democracy unless the schools are kept safe for democracy.

The Smith-Towner Bill Revised does not require the states to set up a highly centralized school control as a condition laid upon them for obtaining Federal aid. It absolutely prevents Federal domination. The removal of these objections explains the confidence and enthusiasm which not only the teachers but citizens generally have for this truly great educational program which is in accord with the form, the principles, and the spirit of American institutions.

The recent world war taught us that success in war and achievement in peace depend upon a patriotic and educated citizenship. It has taught us that in the long run, at least, a democracy mobilized in its defense can prevail over an autocracy. The national inventory of our resources which preceded mobilization, however, disclosed certain defects in its parts which threatened the existence of the whole body politic. It is the object of the Smith-Towner Bill Revised to correct these defects in our democracy in order that America's future may be more secure and that she may more effectively contribute to her own and the world's reconstruction.

Constructive Participation in Organization and Administration by Teachers

ETHEL M GARDNER

Chairman, Educational Committee Milwaukee Teachers' Association

IN these days of the glorious re-birth of democracy and the recognition of the rights of peoples everywhere to determine for themselves the kind of government under which they shall live, the desire of teachers to participate in the organization and administration of the school system should cause no consternation nor alarm to the people of this greatest democracy in the world. We have seen the greatest military machine crumble and vanish from sight; we have seen the greatest autocracies pass from history forever; and we have seen a model educa-

tional system "weighed in the balance and found wanting." The world has learned the value of "team-work," of cooperation. The victory of the Allies demonstrated its effectiveness. It is evidenced in the League of Nations. What should prevent its application in the industrial and educational world?

The Nation has awakened to the importance of the public schools. It is awakening to the need for better training for teachers and for better salaries that there may be better teachers, but it has not yet realized that the way to secure the best teachers is to

allow them to become participators in the great scheme of education.

We may appropriate millions for the training of teachers; we may obtain better salaries for teachers; we may attract to the teaching profession the brightest of our young men and young women; but we must allow them to be something more than mere automatons if we want them to be real teachers.

Laymen are surprised when we teachers talk about "democracy" in our school system. The average American citizen feels that the demands for democracy have been satisfied when a school board elected by the people has been provided for. He loses sight of the fact that school boards, as a rule, are composed of representative citizens, few, if any, of whom are trained educators; that such boards must necessarily employ educational experts to advise them in matters of which they admit they have no knowledge; and that within the last quarter of a century there has developed in the educational system of every large city in the country a veritable Junker class of administrative officers who are chiefly responsible for the "superior-inferior" relationship which causes so much dissatisfaction and unrest among the teachers of today. There can never be the right kind of cooperation, of "team-work," in the school system until the representatives of the people on the school board and the instructors of the children of the people in the class room are brought into closer relationship.

School directors and superintendents may call this "Bolshevism"; we teachers call it "democracy."

An effort to accomplish this was made in Toledo, Ohio. In a letter from the president of the Toledo Teachers' Association, March 9, 1918, she writes: "Our advisory committee was appointed at the suggestion of the Board of Education. It consists of twelve members appointed by the Board of Directors of the Toledo Teachers' Association, and divided into three committees—Education, Building and Finance, corresponding to the three committees of the Board of Education. The plan was that they were to be ready if called in conference by the Board of Education."

For several years the feeling has been slowly developing in this country that teach-

ers should have some right to express opinions on matters pertaining to school administration, and this has been evidenced by attempts in various cities to establish so-called "Teachers' Councils," or advisory committees of teachers. Some school boards have allowed teachers to express in writing their opinions in regard to changes in text books. Some superintendents have appointed committees of teachers and principals to report on text books and changes in courses of study. These attempts at democratizing the school system have met with varying degrees of success. Teachers soon discover that their written expressions of opinion serve but to accumulate dust, and discontinue writing them. Committees of teachers and principals usually find that it reacts to their personal advantage to make recommendations which find favor with those higher up, and act accordingly. Some teachers' councils become involved in local political difficulties, or are rendered ineffective because of an antagonistic attitude of the school board or the superintendent.

Of the most successful teachers' councils—those of Minneapolis, St. Paul, Toledo, Boston, New York and Portland—no two are exactly alike in either constitution or purpose, except as they offer an outlet of expression for teachers. This in itself is of value, for teachers must express themselves and do, though not always publicly; and school directors come into contact more or less with individual teachers and listen, though not officially.

It is because of this gossipy, "back fence" method of communication that teachers are prone to magnify their grievances and school directors believe that teachers have nothing to offer but complaints. Legalized recognition by school boards of representatives of organized groups of teachers would clear away these misunderstandings.

Superintendents and other administrative officers seem to fear this form of participation by teachers, for the most generally accepted type seems to be that of an advisory body to the superintendent. A teachers' council created by the Board of Education in Washington, D. C., in June, 1919, is to consist of the superintendent of schools, two assistant superintendents and two represent-

atives of the administrative officers as well as delegates from the different groups of teachers.

When a member of the Milwaukee Board of Education proposed that "the teachers of the various groups hold monthly meetings for the discussion of matters pertaining to school administration; that each group should select annually a representative to the committee on text books and course of instruction with which these representatives of the teachers should meet every month and have a voice, but no vote," it was bitterly opposed by other members of the school board who seemed to fear that direct communication between the teachers and the school board would disrupt the system.

One director who feared that teachers would usurp the powers of the superintendent, said that "teachers have not that all-round and distant view" which is necessary in order to administer a school system. All teachers will readily agree to this statement, but we do feel that we have the "close-up" and intimate view which no other group in the school system has. We feel that a school board that would give equal recognition to the "all-round and distant view" of the superintendent and the "close-up" and intimate view of the teacher, that would weigh them both judiciously and fairly, would be a democratic and American school board, and we should have no other kind in the United States of America.

THE AWAKENING OF A PEDAGOG

B H

ONCE upon a time there lived in the city of New York an old blue-blooded New England yankee who had but one son, Archibald, who was trained for the most exalted of all professions—teaching. He was a courteous, refined, self sacrificing and cultured gentleman, so rare in the teaching profession of to-day. One day while the young and enthusiastic Archibald was wending his way homeward, he was accosted by one of his co-workers, the plebian Bill Hogg and the following dialogue ensued:

Bill—Hello, Archie, how's Aristotle feeling to-day?

Archie (resenting the plebian familiarity)
—Quite well, thank you!

Bill—Say, Archie, why didn't you renew your subscription to the *American Historical Review*?

Archie—The cost of living has mounted heavenward so rapidly that I had to economize on something; so I discontinued my subscriptions to my best friends, my magazines and books (Groans).

Bill—That's too bad. By the way, how do you like the lengthened school day imposed upon us so suddenly? It "gets your nanny," doesn't it?

Archie—Don't speak so disrespectfully of the acts of your superiors. Don't you think, William, that we ought to do something to get an increase?

Bill—Sure thing, Archie, why don't you join the union. You know we are being exploited even worse than the workers—longer school day, increased pension deductions, extra school activities. What is still worse, we have become mere ciphers and our ideals so stifled that we have even lost our self respect. Thru the union we can force the community to respect our rights.

Archie (nose tilted at an angle of 45 degrees, drawing himself up majestically to his full height, forgetting for the moment his milk and biscuit salary)—Sir, how dare you take advantage of your familiarity to thus insult me? Do you desire to put me on the same plane with the blacksmith, the machine forger and the boiler maker? Are you aware that teaching is a profession?

Bill (trying another tack)—Don't you think it would be a good thing if we teachers had some say in determining the conditions under which we work? And some say in the management of the schools?

Archie (horrified at the vastness and impertinence of the idea)—Sir, are you so un-American as to suggest such Bolshevistic ideas as the fixing of salaries (his soul can't bear the word "wages") or electing the supervisor? Sir, never speak to me again. You are an agitator and anarchist.

Then began the education of Archie.

Jolt 1. A news item informed Archie that designers, musicians and engineers had joined the American Federation of Labor and that the authors were seriously considering the proposition.

Jolt 2. A judge of a Federal court has decided that teaching is *not* a profession.

Jolt 3. Archie, earning about 40 cents an hour, accidentally obtained a copy of the *Labor Review* and learned much to his astonishment, that the ignorant and uncultured and unrefined machine forger was earning \$1.48 per hour, the despised plebeian blacksmith \$.90 per hour and the boiler-maker \$.80 per hour and, furthermore, that they control the conditions under which they labor.

Jolt 4 (still pondering on the power possessed by the skilled worker). Archie learns that the reconstruction committee of his church had recommended the following: recognition of the union and the seven hour day; the participation of the worker in the actual management of the industry, and in the profits, a property right to his job instead of holding his job until he saw the fatal words "Conduct unbecoming a teacher" and other reforms that made him wonder when his bishop had been converted to Bolshevism.

Archie, after these jolts began to ruminate thusly:—

I, a highly trained, cultured and intellectual being, possessing a Harvard degree, gets 40 cents per hour, and the machine forger \$1.48 per hour. The machine forger has a property right to his job and is a decisive factor in his shop, fixing his hours, wages, sanitary conditions, etc., while I tremble because of the sword of Damocles hanging over me (conduct unbecoming a teacher) and fix nothing but my signature to a starvation ticket euphoniously called a "salary." I, Archibald Adams, a descendant of the noble Adams family, an honor student of Harvard, the proud possessor of a PhD degree, am ignored by my superiors while the ignorant foreigner working in the boiler shop is treated with courtesy and permitted the rights that belong solely to a professional. If that is what Unionism does, then I shall join the U-N-I-O-N.

Later.

Archie—Hello, Bill, I have joined the Union, and what's more I am going to persuade all I know to join. I may be a Bolshevik in doing this, but I want a living wage, I want decent working conditions, I want to be treated as an intelligent being, I want to be able to dress well, to read stimu-

lating books and magazines. In short, I want to live like a human being so that I can hold my head up, look any man in the eye and say proudly—I AM A TEACHER.

That nightmare view awoke in my contented mind the thought that perhaps everything was not as perfect in this world as I had thought, and that while we were fighting to bring democracy to the oppressed peoples of Europe, we were neglecting to give it to the downtrodden and exploited workers of our own country. And it also awoke in my mind the hope that some day such things would no longer be, that some day man would realize that his life was not created to be worn away, but that in it he should enjoy the good things of existence, and that he would then be able to give to the world in return the full product of a brain and body developed to the greatest extent.

FROM THE UNIONS OF FRANCE

Editor, *The American Teacher*:

I have the honor to transmit to you the greetings of the Federation of Teachers Unions of France in convention assembled in Tours, August 10, 1919. The teachers of France wish to convey, thru me, an expression of their cordial feelings to their American brothers and sisters. Like them, they have felt the necessity of federating into unions in order to achieve the necessary aims of bringing about democracy in education and the emancipation of the teacher from official oppression. Comrades in arms, they desire also to be comrades in creating a new ideal of education which will realize the highest aspirations of humanity. They have chosen the field of unionism to accomplish these aims. Once more they extend fraternal greetings to their American comrades and hope that in the future more intimate relations may be established between the teaching forces of America and France. The convention, representative of all France, thus officially establishes the first bonds of union between the Federation of Teachers Unions of France and the American Federation of Teachers.

WILLIAM I. HELLER,

Honorary President, Federation of Teachers Unions of France.

Tours, France, Aug. 10, 1919.

From the Locals of the American Federation of Teachers

Staff of Chairmen of Press Committees

Local No. 3, Chicago, Ill, ETHEL E BEERS

Local No. 5, New York, N Y, WILMER T
STONE.

Local No. 8, Washington, D C, SUSANNE
ULRICH.

Local No. 16, Washington, D C, GERTRUDE
L LADSON.

Local No. 25, Norfolk, Va, JULIAN S.
HUGHSON.

Note: The names of the Chairmen of
other Press Committees will be added as
they are received from the locals.

FROM LOCAL NO. 5

(The Teachers Union, New York)

IT IS CUSTOMARY for teachers to claim that the school authorities of *their* particular city are the most autocratic and stupid. This peculiar form of rivalry happily has been finally settled. The prize has been awarded to New York City, where it threatens to remain until the teachers thru their collective intelligence reduce the present powers in the Board of Education to "innocuous desuetude." This is how the contest was decided.

The New York Board of Education was greatly perturbed over the possibility of children falling a prey *en masse* to the doctrines of Bolshevism. It also felt, perhaps, that a few teachers lacking in the proper kind of subservience to officialdom, had so far escaped the ax. The help of the pupils might cleverly be secured in preparing the way for the next "execution." At any rate, one bright day in June it was calmly announced that all the children of the High Schools would be given a test on war facts. Occupying a most prominent place in this test was a series of questions concerning Bolshevism. The pupils were required to tell what it was, whether it was a danger threatening New York City, whether it was compatible with

the principle of representative government, and several other questions of a similar nature. Along with these came this other one—"State where you got your information about Bolshevism." The teachers at the same time were ordered that if, in examining the papers, they discovered any pupils who seemed to know what Bolshevism really was they were to report such cases to the principal. The children in the elementary schools were also subjected to similar questions. Many an unsuspecting parent was faced by a lisping child demanding an explanation of Bolshevism, for it would be in tomorrow's test.

The ridiculousness and viciousness of the entire proceedings was as evident to the pupils as to the teachers and the public. In an examination conducted ostensibly to discover facts, an attempt was being made to pry into the private political opinions of pupils and their parents. The pupils knowing quite generally what the "official" explanation of Bolshevism was kept on the safe side of things by giving what was wanted. Teachers again, in order not to endanger their position, marked answers they knew to be absolutely wrong, as tho they were perfect.

The Teachers Union, thoroly aroused because of the utter demoralization which this test had produced among both pupils and teachers, appointed a committee to consider what steps should be taken by the Union in the matter. In the meantime Dr. B. C. Gruenberg, a teacher in the Julia Richman High School, and a member of the Union, sent a written protest to the Superintendent of Schools. At a very well attended meeting of the Union, held in the latter part of June, a set of resolutions was adopted strongly protesting against the spirit and form of the examination that had been imposed upon the children.

A short time afterwards the City Superintendent announced that nothing in the pupils' answers would be used against any teacher or pupil. The reader has probably guessed

that the fertile brain of the renowned Tildes evolved this aid to Americanism.

Ever since April, when the Board of Education denied the Teachers Union the right to meet in the schools, the Union has carried on a vigorous campaign to enlist the support of organized labor to force the Board to rescind its autocratic rule. The response of labor has naturally been most vigorous. Organized labor is responsible for the creation of the public school system in the United States, and will not allow any attack on the teachers who best represent the democratic spirit in education to pass off lightly. All the Central Labor bodies in the city appointed a joint committee on education, as our readers will recall, to demand justice for the Teachers Union.

After many delays, and the failure of the Board to answer letters addressed to it by this Joint Committee, the Committee by appearing at one of the open meetings of the Board, finally arranged an interview. At this interview the Board promised to write the Committee in answer to the questions submitted to it by the representatives of over 500,000 organized workers. When the answer finally came, it was couched in vague and meaningless phrases that meant absolutely nothing. The Board was asked why the Union had been denied the right to meet in the schools; whether it would refuse the request of the Union to meet in the schools, and whether it would adopt a new plan for the trying of teachers whereby teachers would be represented on the Trial Board. The answer did not meet any of the issues.

The Central Federated Union of New York thereupon again wrote to the Board submitting five very definite questions. To these the Board of July 29 again made answer, and again said nothing. The questions and answers follow:

Q. What rules or regulations did the Teachers Union violate that resulted in a drastic ruling which denied the union use of the schools? **A.** Denial was based on the report of inspectors of the department showing that rules and regulations of the Board of Education had been violated at a meeting held March 29.

Q. Why was such action taken without

giving the union an opportunity to be heard in its defence? **A.** The board did not consider it necessary to go further than the report of its inspectors.

Q. What action of the Teachers Union or its members induced the Board of Education to adopt the resolution providing for the investigation of the loyalty of the members of the union and especially of the officers, a regulation that seriously affected the growth of the union? **A.** Because of public utterances and printed reports of the organization over the signature of its officers.

Arthur S. Somers, a member of the board, remarked on this question: "It is interesting to note that it seriously affected the growth of the union. I didn't know that."

Q. Would the Board of Education approve of an amendment to the educational laws for the method of trial suggested by our committee? **A.** No.

Q. Will the Teachers Union be given the use of the schools if it makes application for it? **A.** As we have already advised, no school organization has been or will be denied the use of the school buildings so long as it conforms to the rules and regulations of the Board of Education.

The Union immediately sent in a request for the use of a room. At the meeting of the Board held on August 6, the request was referred to the one member of the Board who publicly declared his opposition to unions among teachers on the day of his appointment. This member has referred the problem to the Corporation Counsel of the City of New York. The Teachers Union awaits the judgment of the officials with calmness.

FROM LOCAL NO. 14

(Jasonville Teachers Federation, Indiana)

A CONTROVERSY which threatened seriously to disrupt the schools of Jasonville, Indiana, has been adjusted thru the combined efforts of the Jasonville Teachers' Federation No. 14, the Jasonville Central Labor Union, and President Stillman of the American Federation of Teachers, in a manner which promises well for harmony and increased efficiency in the Jasonville schools. The school board had refused to reemploy three teachers, all of whom had high success grades. They were

members of Local No. 14, one of them being an officer in the local. The Central Labor Union then took the matter up vigorously. At the annual election the president of the school board resigned and another member's term expired, so that two new members out of a total of three were elected. This new board agreed to employ only union teachers, but refused to reinstate the three who had been dropped, and refused to sign a contract providing for arbitration of such differences.

President Stillman was then called into consultation, and after a conference with the President of the new school board, arranged a joint meeting of the committee of the Central Labor Union and Local No. 14 and the school board. At this meeting Mr. Stillman presented the case of the teachers, including the grievance of the lowering of success grades by the Superintendent of Schools without giving the teacher his reasons, or suggestions for improvement. The Board finally reinstated the three ousted teachers, and agreed to the substance of the following resolutions which were drafted by Mr. Stillman and the attorney of the Board the following morning.

"1. Resolved by the Board of School Trustees of the City of Jasonville, Indiana, that in the case of a teacher whose work in the judgment of the Superintendent of Schools is of such character that he believes it may be incumbent upon him to lower her success grade, the Superintendent shall prepare in duplicate a statement of his criticism of said teacher's work and of his suggestions for improvement, one copy of said statement to be filed with the teacher, and one in the Superintendent's office, at a time which would give the teacher a reasonable opportunity to profit by the Superintendent's criticism and suggestions, and to bring her work up to standard for the school year.

"2. Resolved by the Board of School Trustees of the City of Jasonville, Indiana, that in case any grievance arises between any teacher under contract and in employment and school officials, said grievance shall be taken up for settlement by a committee of teachers consisting of three members selected by the teachers' organization, and the Board of School Trustees sitting as a committee of the whole; in case agreement is not

reached, a disinterested arbitrator shall be selected by the above committees; and in case of failure to agree on a disinterested arbitrator, the grievance shall be submitted to the Superintendent of Schools of Greene County for settlement.

"3. Resolved by the Board of Trustees of the City of Jasonville, Indiana, that in case of the non-reemployment of a teacher, such teacher shall receive from the Board by the close of the school year a written statement of the causes for non-reemployment, and upon the written application of such teacher, a full, open hearing shall be granted within two weeks, at which such teacher shall have the opportunity to be represented in person, by any officer of her local or national union, or by attorney, to answer all charges against her, to summon witnesses, and to introduce evidence; the decision of said Board to be final.

"The teachers, in cooperation with this resolution, shall file their applications for reemployment not later than one month before the close of the school year."

The membership of Local No 14, which now includes all the teachers of Jasonville, is satisfied with this settlement, and we submit it briefly, thinking it may be of interest to the movement.

MARY POWELL,

Secretary Jasonville Teachers' Federation

FROM LOCAL NO. 59

(The Minneapolis Teachers Federation)

How Does the Board Stand?

A Brief Analysis of Its Opinion of the Union

The Minneapolis schools are administered by a board of seven. At present these members are: H N Leighton, contractor; C E Purdy, attorney; Nils Juell, dentist; Mrs T F Kinney; David F Swenson, professor of philosophy at the University of Minnesota; A G Bainbridge, painter, and Lynn Thompson, organizer for the American Federation of Labor. Knowing that the last two are both union men, teachers have generally assumed that they would sympathize with the new movement. Professor Swenson has been regarded as favorable to unionization and it has been expected that Mrs Kinney would react toward the idea. Gossip has generally opposed the remaining three members to the conception of teachers in affiliation with labor. We tried hard to obtain a statement from each member

for this issue, but one letter is all that we have to publish. Prof Swenson desires to be known as neutral and Mrs Kinney deeply sympathizes with teachers in their desire for more self-expression. We honor Mr Purdy for the friendly frankness of his letter which follows:

"June 9th, 1919.

"Answering your question as to my personal views on the subject of the Minneapolis Teachers' Federation, may I say, quite unofficially that:

"I favor trade unions and teachers' organizations, but I see no reason why the teachers who are doing professional work should affiliate with those in the mechanical trades.

"Teachers are rendering a public service and no class is living off from the products of their industry.

"To federate the teachers' organization would naturally tend to generate rather than obliterate class consciousness, the standing menace to our democratic institutions.

"A teaching corps part union and part non-union might introduce dissension and distrust, thus destroying the unity of our teaching body, and it was on this account, as I am advised, that Boards of Education have placed a ban upon the federation.

"If this view is to be published may I ask that you publish it in its entirety as otherwise it might not reflect correctly the feeling which I have in the matter. Would you also be kind enough to send me a copy of the publication?

"With best wishes, I am,

"Yours very truly,

"C E PURDY."

—From the Federation News,
Local 59, A F of T, Minneapolis, Minn.

FROM THE CALIFORNIA STATE FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

DELEGATES from the Benicia Elementary, Fresno Elementary, Fresno High, Sacramento Elementary, Sacramento High, San Francisco, Vallejo and Visalia Teachers' Federations met at the Labor Temple at Sixteenth and Mission Streets, San Francisco, at 10 a m May 31, 1919, for the purpose of considering the formation of a State Federation of Teachers.

Mr J P Utter, of Vallejo, was elected temporary chairman and Miss Virginia Yolo, of Sacramento, was elected temporary secretary.

Mr Utter opened the meeting with a few remarks concerning the need of extending the organization of locals and assisting locals

already organized. He then called upon all the delegates to express their views upon the subject, and all took part in a most interesting discussion. Points brought out by individual delegates were: The need of a central clearing house for information, assisting rural teachers, conducting an offensive and defensive campaign to defend our position, what a state federation would mean, what obligations it would entail, need for concerted action in legislation, etc. The consensus of opinion was that a state federation was necessary to provide the machinery for action and that locals must be responsible for the activity and extension of the movement.

Mr McLaren made a motion, which was unanimously carried, that a State Federation of Teachers be formed.

Mr Baker moved that the temporary organization be retained until after the report of a committee on constitution. It was unanimously carried.

Motions were then made and carried that the following committees be appointed to report at the afternoon session:

- (a) Constitution and By-laws.
- (b) Platform and Resolutions.
- (c) Extension.

The chairman then named the following committees:

- (a) Constitution and By-laws:
Mr R G Baker,
Miss Virginia Yolo,
Miss J Colby,
Mr P J Mohr,
Miss Olive Wilson.
- (b) Platform and Resolutions:
Miss V Carson,
Miss A R Tracy,
Mr Tetstall,
Miss A T Crowley,
Mr J P Utter.
- (c) Extension:
Mr S G McLean,
Miss M Thomas,
Mrs J A Graves,
Miss M McArthur,
Mrs R G Baker.

Mr Bonsar of the San Francisco Labor Council addressed the Federation in regard to the State Federation of Labor.

A recess was then decided upon until 2:30 in order that the delegates might have lunch and the committees might have time to bring in reports.

The San Francisco teachers furnished a most tempting dinner at a downtown hotel. Needless to say, this was thoroly enjoyed by all the delegates.

The afternoon meeting opened with a report from the Committee on Constitution and By-Laws. The Constitution was adopted after a few minor amendments had been made. The Committee recommended that By-Laws be drawn up by a Committee appointed by the President.

The Committee on Platform reported a statement of Principles and Purposes of the State Federation of Teachers. Its reports on resolutions was also read and adopted.

The Committee on Extension reported plans for extending the federation movement in California. The report was adopted.

The machinery for action being thus provided, the next business was the election of officers. The following were elected:

President—Mr S G McLean, Sacramento High School.

First Vice-Pres.—Mr Davis, San Francisco.

Second Vice-Pres.—Miss Olive Wilson, Vallejo.

Third Vice-Pres.—Miss Virginia Yolo, Sacramento Elementary.

Fourth Vice-Pres.—Mr Royce Baker, Visalia.

Fifth Vice-Pres.—Miss M McArthur, Benicia.

Sixth Vice-Pres.—Left vacant.

Corresponding and Recording Secretary—Miss J Colby, Fresno.

Financial Secretary—Miss A J Crowley, San Francisco.

Respectfully submitted,
VIRGINIA YOLO,
Secretary pro tem.

—There is a great agitation in France at this moment among professors and teachers. The Chamber of Deputies has been called upon to discuss increases in salaries of all professors and teachers, which have not been changed since about 1853.—From The Public of August 30, 1919.

POISONING THE WELLS

Our children in the schools, our young people in the colleges and universities, are still being subjected to a propaganda of falsehood and suppression, sometimes deliberate and calculated, sometimes only cowardly and evasive, but in any case of a character to produce hatred and contempt, and now clearly in process of being turned from our late enemies to the new disturbers of our peace and quiet, the radical thinkers and "Bolsheviki" of every country. In what spirit would our pedagogues have the children receive this message?

A subservient citizenry, well drilled in falsehoods and hatreds, and trained to the duty of universal military service—what could be a finer or more fitting fruit of a war fought for democracy?

If such is to be the outcome, there is no need to ask who has won the war; for we shall have turned over our children, bound in spiritual chains, to the very enemy against whom our conflict was ostensibly waged. Shall these things be? Once the teachers themselves, and the public that supports the teachers, thoroly appreciate the situation, once they realize the incalculable injury that is being done to millions of innocent and impressionable children, even the passions of war must yield to the universal human instinct to protect the young. For on that day it will be realized that for the maiming and the slaughter, for the destruction of the means of life, for the ravaging of millions of homes and the snuffing out of all that made the life of tens of millions of human beings worth living—for these things, indeed, those responsible may perhaps find forgiveness at the judgment seat of a merciful God—but for the searing of the souls of little children with the blasting flame of hatred, for the closing of their minds against unwelcome truth, for the poisoning of their spirit with falsehoods concerning their future neighbors, whose only offence is that they are the children of fathers on whom we made war—for these sins against the Holy Spirit those who are to blame shall find no forgiveness though they seek with strong crying and tears.—From The Nation of March 8, 1919.

This is the Official Organ

of the

American Federation of Teachers

ORGANIZED APRIL 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

OFFICERS OF THE A F OF T

President, CHARLES B STILLMAN, Chicago
1620 Lake Avenue, Wilmette, Ill.

Secretary-Treasurer, F G STECKER, Chicago
1618 Lake Avenue, Wilmette, Ill.

National Organizer; First Vice-President,
L V LAMPSON, Washington, D C
1336 Otis Place, N W

WOMEN WORKERS' CONVENTION ADOPTS BROAD PROGRAM

Philadelphia.—Representing some 600,000 working women of the United States, and numbering among its visitors three representatives of the organized women workers of Great Britain, the seventh biennial convention of the National Women's Trade Union League, just held in Philadelphia, adjourned after a week's discussion and the adoption of a broad fundamental program. There were about 125 delegates in the voting body of the convention, representing localities from Salt Lake City to Boston, and the sessions were attended also by numbers of visitors.

The British representatives were Miss Mary McArthur, secretary of the British Women's Trade Union League, Miss Margaret Bondfield, fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention from the British Trade Union Congress, and Mrs Eleanor Barton, of the British Women's co-operative Guild.

Mrs Raymond Robins, national president of the National Women's Trade Union League of America, presided at the convention and was re-elected for the next two years by unanimous vote, as was also Miss Emma Steghagen of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, as national secretary-treasurer.

The sessions were characterized throughout by breadth of outlook, most of the policies adopted having an international scope. Perhaps the largest single undertaking was the decision to call an international congress of working women, to be held in Washington in October, just preceding the international labor conference of the League of Nations. The women's congress is to be called by the National Women's Trade Union League of America, and the British and French trade union women have already pledged their co-operation. Women labor leaders from all over the world are expected to attend this congress, the purpose of which is to voice the women's demands for equal representation in the policy making councils of the international labor bureaus, and for adequate provision for dealing with the special problems of women workers in all countries.

The convention put itself on record as renewing its demands for equal pay for equal work by women and men and the proper rating of women's work according to skill; for right of choice of occupation and equal opportunity for women in industry; for adequate representation of women in the policy making bodies of the Government, the American Federation of Labor, national and international unions and all other agencies that deal with working conditions and standards of life; for the maximum forty-four hour week; a minimum wage law guaranteeing to all women an adequate living wage; a federal tax upon employers whose record shows a labor turnover in excess of a given percentage; for the establishment of educational councils in local leagues and labor unions and the organization of classes for the teaching of the principles of industrial democracy and trade unionism; for abolition of the tipping system; for health insurance legislation; for public ownership of public utilities with workers' control; for scientific taxation of land values; for a federal department of Education as provided in the Smith-Towner bill and a campaign

to overcome illiteracy; for revision of the federal civil service law to provide equal opportunity and equal rights for women in public service; for the Nolan minimum wage bill for Government employees and a civil service retirement law; for repeal of veteran preference legislation, which is declared to be subversive of the merit system and discriminatory against women; for the permanence and expansion of the Women-in-Industry Service of the U S Department of Labor, the Working Conditions Service, and the federal Employment Service. The convention also called upon the Department of Labor to study seasonal occupations in nation-wide distribution, and to make definite recommendations within a given period, for the control of seasonal unemployment.

The problems of domestic workers were dealt with in a resolution pledging the League to use its utmost efforts to standardize the conditions of domestic service, and to organize the domestic workers. At the same time the convention went on record in protest against the public attitude which classes the work of the housewife and homekeeper as not a "gainful occupation" under the Census classification. The League demands recognition of the wives and mothers who do their own work at home as fellow-workers in industry.

A league of nations "that shall establish co-operation among all the peoples of the earth to the end that wars shall cease" was the subject of a unanimous resolution, and others demanded the restoration of the rights of free speech, free press, and free assemblage, called for amnesty for all political and industrial offenders, urged the lifting of the blockade against Germany and Russia as a matter of humanity, and called for recognition of the Russian Soviet Government.

The League adopted the principle of proportional representation for its own elections, and put the plan into immediate effect. The officers elected for the ensuing two years are Mrs Raymond Robins, president, Rose Schneiderman of New York, vice-president, Emma Steghagen of Chicago, secretary-treasurer. The executive board members are Agnes Nestor and Elizabeth Christman of the Glove-Workers, Chicago; Julia O'Connor of the Telephone Operators and Mabel Gillespie of the Office Workers, Boston; Hilda Svenson of the Commercial Telegraphers and Jo Coffin of the printers, New York; Pauline Newman of the Waistmakers, Philadelphia; Sarah Green of the Waitresses, Kansas City.

—From Press Service of National Women's Trade Union League.

—The Norfolk Chamber of Commerce has a committee on labor, of which a Negro has been made a member. The city also has a Negro Workers' Advisory Committee, composed of three white city officials and twenty-five colored men and women. In the acute labor shortage of the past year both these committees have enlisted the interest and help of Negro workers of all grades.—From The Public of August 23, 1919.

THE CASE OF THE SCIENTISTS

The recent decision of the scientific and technical employees of the Government stationed in Washington, representing many lines of science and branches of the service, to unite with Washington Local No 2 as an occupational group, or branch thereof, is an event of more than passing interest and significance. This is shown by the comments of the press in various parts of the United States, which attach much importance to the incident as fraught with large meaning.

Although many employees in this general class have been members of our organization for varying periods, the action here considered marks the first step on the part of men of science as an integral group to ally themselves with the trade-union movement. That the accession of this body of workers to the wage-earning brotherhood of the country carries with it great good is not open to serious question in the judgment of the writer.

Our present-day life is so complex that scientific research touches our most vital interests at every turn. Problems affecting food, sanitation, housing, education, wages, child labor, insurance, and a thousand other things are becoming more and more dependent for adequate solution on the investigations of the trained men of science. These investigations are naturally for the greater part in the field occupied by the wage-earning classes, from the "submerged tenth" up to and including that section of our population usually classed as of "moderate means." Is it not essential to the proper understanding of, and sympathetic attitude toward, their problems, needs, aspirations, and limitations that the investigator should have as close knowledge as possible of the human material he is studying, knowledge which can best be gained by direct contact with the people themselves?

The benefit to be derived from association of this kind, however, will inure at least as much to the men of science as to their brother workers. The necessities of the case constantly call for increasing allotments for scientific research, calls which do not always meet with the response to which their merit entitles them. The remedy lies in awakening a keener appreciation on the part of the average citizen of the necessity for liberal expenditures by the state for such purposes, and he can be brought into the proper frame of mind in no other way more effectually than by closer association with those who direct the work of research. In order to secure the highly desirable result, then, each class—the man of science on the one hand and the wage-earners in general on the other—must come together to a greater extent than they do now for the common purpose of advancing the well-being of both classes and that of the community as a whole.

Our scientific brethren do not stand alone in the step they have taken. The old line of demarcation between the brain-worker and the hand-worker is rapidly approaching the vanishing point. Workers must frequently supplement the work of the brain with that of the hand and vice versa. The modern labor movement is gathering in its own in a steadily augmenting ratio. Teachers, physicians, newspaper reporters, actors, drug clerks, photographers—even ministers—are merging with the trade-union fraternity in the growing consciousness that they are wage-earners by the stern fact of their economic condition. It remains for them merely to decide whether they will be organized or unorganized wage-earners.

—Editorial in *The Federal Employee* for June, 1919.

CITY CHEMISTS JOIN UNION

Skilled Men of Health Department Unite with the A F of L.—

At the headquarters of the Union of Technical Men of the American Federation of Labor, Local 16,388, in the World Building, announcement was made last night that the skilled chemists and assistants of the New York City Health Department had become affiliated therewith.

These scientists represent the highest form of trained men employed in city service, and their resolve to pool their interests with skilled labor represents a radical departure from established tradition, the announcement pointed out.

—From the *New York Times* of August 22, 1919.

There are thousands of New York City teachers who profess to believe that it is beneath them to join a union. And now comes their friend, the *New York Times* intimating that teachers are not so highly trained, and hence not so professional as are some others—EDITOR, *The American Teacher*.

REPORTERS ORGANIZE UNION

Montreal, Canada.—Reporters on the French and English newspapers have organized a union with a charter from the International Typographical Union. It is claimed that this is the first newspaper writers' union formed in Canada. The purposes are: "To promote the professional and general interests of the members by encouraging a higher professional standard, by raising the rate of remuneration by regulating the hours of work, and by providing adequate compensation for overtime and special work."

—From the *A F of L Newsletter* of May 31, 1919.

There is another reporters' union in Boston which has been remarkably successful. The snobbery of professional pride is fast disappearing when reporters take a step like this.—EDITOR, *The American Teacher*.

A Professional Creed

In Common With American Teachers Generally

WE BELIEVE in universal right education as the chief guarantee of human welfare and progress;

WE BELIEVE in the dignity of manhood and womanhood, in the essential equality of the sexes, and in children as the hope of the race, for whom the best we have to offer is none too good;

WE BELIEVE in non-partisan control of the schools;

WE BELIEVE in the highest possible standards of professional preparation and work;

WE BELIEVE in law and order, in reason above force, in co-operation in the spirit of the Golden Rule;

As an organized unit of the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, we recognize the brotherhood of brain and brawn;

WE BELIEVE in the democratization of the schools and in the improvement of the condition of the teacher;

WE BELIEVE in the conduct of the schools only by persons standing above all partisanship whether of sect or party, clan or clique;

WE BELIEVE in organic teacher participation in school government in all its phases; but we stand for unselfish service rather than for selfish domination; for giving more than for mere getting;

WE BELIEVE in the merit system of appointment and promotion, and in equal pay for equal work;

We stand for the schools for democracy, and for more democracy for the schools. And so, with malice toward none, with charity and justice for all, with an eye single to the right as God gives us to see the right, we press forward to achieve better schools for our free citizens, and more freedom for the schools of our beloved State.

A Statement of the Principles and Purposes of the California State Federation of Teachers, Adopted at San Francisco, May 31, 1919.